C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Río Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132- three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
a Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is
[633] one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
C and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the
[361] settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
C 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[245] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[249] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
[233] activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
P The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
C overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[648] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
P
[361]
C
[311]

Here the mountain slopes, which

/14 cont./

C 311 134 P 361 132 P [244] P [233] P [311] [134]

only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus covering and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settlement on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132

The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 [135]

Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been explored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary, p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose descendants make up a considerable part of the population of Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 175 317 563 464 316 C 316 C [103]

C 487

From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/15 cont./

600 C 491 C 489 [494] [509] [497] C [494] C [509] La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

P C 172 489 361 Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Río Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Río Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

P C [492] P C 361 162 C [241]

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [734] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 179 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees T [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled ● 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 103 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez P 114 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most 121 purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the P culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants 181 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 648 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 [101 181] it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska peĭu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

• 361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [488] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help
000 them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[628] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sät" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

1:Nachtigall--102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
891 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/254 cont./

804 192 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word [221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com- [226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The [132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 [491] No large geographical orientations or regional, individual divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.

[101] [186] Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera, in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation 123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means 484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.

821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 [361] [203] It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/313 cont./

105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid
143 /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the
144 foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured
[361] mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

P 105 197 /319 cont./ concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E ● [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771] Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197 Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SCI
XVII

PC
133
361
439

Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

PC
361
443
439

Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

133
361
[311]

Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with Calderas.

[346]

Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people.

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1]

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs.

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i des Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams. 172

The principal Jamundí relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2). 172 212 [531]

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters. 172

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site 172 361

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

172
212

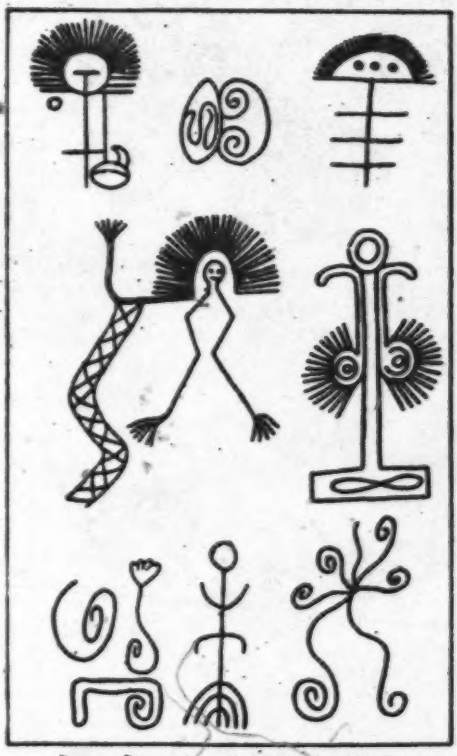


FIG. 1.—Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not
[844 however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
768] of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

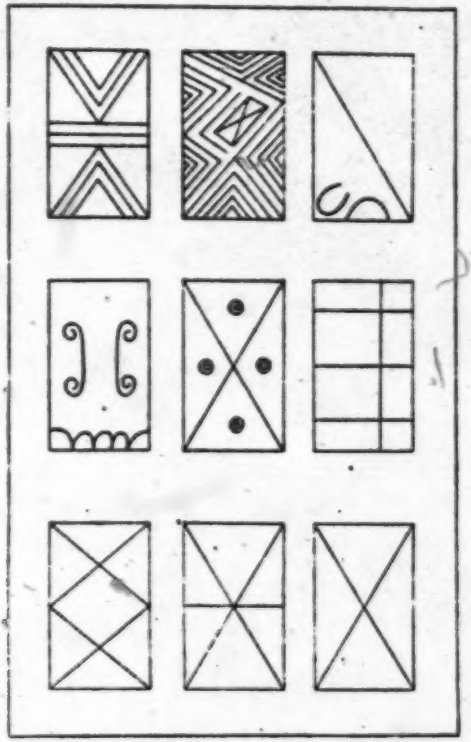


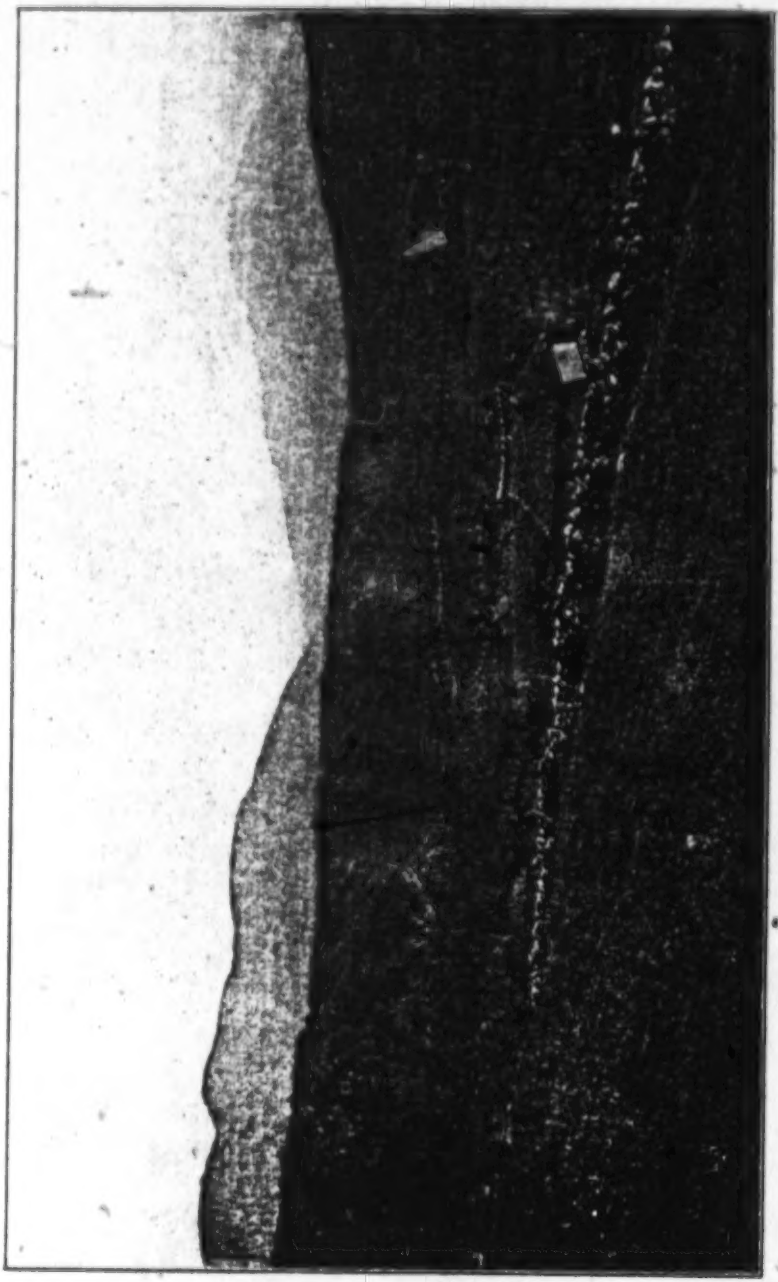
FIG. 2. — Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters.

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the "planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days,"

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

361
133
342



THE VILLAGE OF HÚILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

[facing P. 318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries.

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv[1], and vi).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves.

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyt]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyt]

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./
241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

101 361 [166 173] the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas, Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century, under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 [164] Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls. The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar); 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces, 361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos 796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of 342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
361 the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
175 Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
63 since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
797 representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

36 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
648 been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
566 crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and [563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec- 177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand- 361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not 175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by [317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/179 cont./

123 484 491 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery 123 342 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 133 [361] At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[132] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/182 cont./
authentically native achievement which is a true work of engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
● [361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
● 36/ lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

161/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
361

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241/ Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241/ associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	*chahú*
Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Juss.**	*shlel*
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	*café*
Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	*chimbá*
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli**	*úsual*
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	*pina*
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	*shué*
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	*esh*
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	*mum*
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	*tuka*
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	*shíptuka*
Cabuya	**Fourcroa cabuya Trel.**	*bats*
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	*llinojo*
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	*tachá*
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	*buda*

In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee.

/301 cont./

153 241 361 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

241 433 *Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
	Oct.-Dec.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Potato	(paramo)		
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

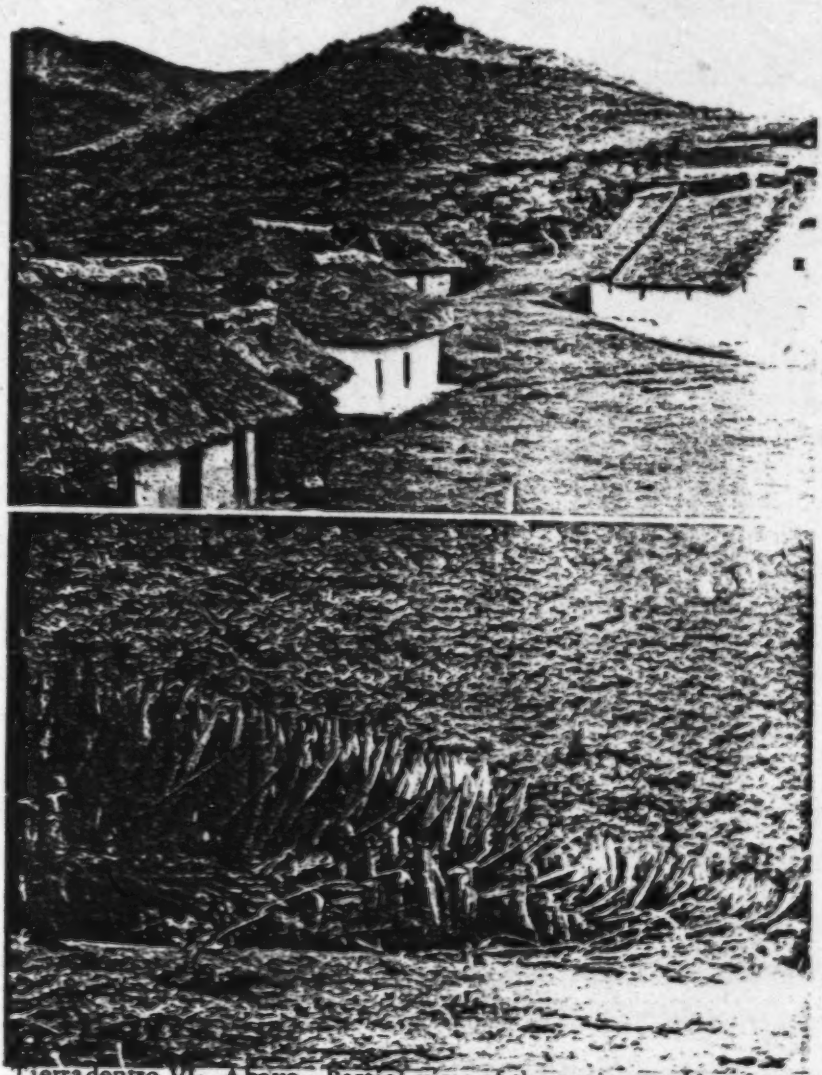
133
311

342
←
361
241
→

Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

133
342
361



248

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
● 361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers.

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at),358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco.

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguez*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga.

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguez*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas).

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguez*

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,Y(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [778] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver [352] money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall. Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

?:Hernández de Alba E-5/N(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

142
291
438

142
291
●361
438

PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

/178 cont./

The Family

594
361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that
175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the
594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves
361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177
797
361

3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
● 361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desaffo; pelea que es un desaffo solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/182 cont./

13. (cont.)
Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

In this manner, among the Paez, marriage, family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the reluctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.